

17 August 1972

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Dear Colonel [redacted]

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I should have answered your letter before. I have spoken to both General [redacted] and General [redacted] about your case and they have been looking into it. I have a feeling that it is difficult to slow a bureaucratic juggernaut. I will take another reading soon and will be in touch with you again before long.

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My new job is even more interesting and enjoyable than I expected it to be.

I hope our paths cross soon again. With every good wish for continued success.

Faithfully,

Vernon A. Walters  
Lieutenant General, USA

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[redacted]

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LEADING TODAY'S SOLDIER IN EUROPE  
REMARKS BY  
GENERAL MICHAEL S. DAVISON  
COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
U.S. ARMY, EUROPE AND SEVENTH ARMY

BEFORE THE  
WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
25 MARCH 1972

Director Read, Members of the Center, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: Fortunately when your Director, Mr. Read, asked me to appear here, he very kindly consented to let me stay within my area of competence or, at least, what I perceive to be my area of competence -- speaking about social issues and leadership problems in United States Army, Europe. My assigned topic, Leading Today's Soldier in Europe, is a broad one. In fact, it is so vast that I felt constrained to limit myself to three or four major points and have the bloodletting occur in the question and answer period. Because of the rather limited time available, I will attempt to be brief, concentrating on the following major areas: Concerned leadership, drug abuse, the racial climate of the command, and finally sum up with my estimate of the quality of today's young soldier on the continent.

Before any meaningful discussion of Leading Today's Soldier in Europe can begin, I believe it is necessary to examine sociologically and demographically just what sort of soldier it is we have to lead. First of all, the Army in Europe is a young army with young ideas. According to the 1970 United States Census, there are over 40 million youths from 14 to 24 years of age in this country. They represent twenty percent of our total population. United States Army, Europe has over 120,000 of these young men aged 17 to 24. They represent almost 70 percent of our force. These men, coming from a youth-oriented society, bring to the Army their contemporary characteristics.

The overwhelming majority of today's youth come from an urban background. Only a sprinkling -- less than 5 percent -- come from the farm. The product of a rather affluent society, our young soldier has spent most of his time in the schooling process. He desires to conform to peer styles in outward appearance, especially in dress and hair styles. Incidentally, I might add, clothing manufacturers and wig makers have been quick to respond. The young man is liberal -- more open-minded than his elders -- perceiving a greater need for change. All this is tied in with his somewhat suspicious and idealistic nature. He sees the Army as self-serving and overly pragmatic. Yet, he is functionally oriented, seeking practicality and usefulness of things and styles that affect his own life. Basically he respects demonstrated ability. But he withholds his respect for persons of vested rank until they have proven themselves.

In discussing the Army as a social institution, let me mention what I see as some fundamental problems existing between contemporary society and the military.

The groundswell feeling in our Nation avows no more Vietnams. Some segments of our public have lost sight of the role of an army in a democracy. They see us as being in the killing business rather than as a national institution designed to preserve the peace.

Recent moves in our society toward more participative social organizations have tended to democratize the military. The nature and extent of communication and soldier participation within the Army structure is a major consideration.

The concept of an all-volunteer force tends to evoke memories held by older generations of an inward-oriented military structure of the type described by James Jones in his book, From Here to Eternity -- a structure riddled with harsh and dysfunctional discipline. The understanding of discipline as viewed by the civil sector, or indeed by some of our older Army members, therefore needs redefinition. It must be divorced from the traditional view that fear, punishment, and coercion are the only means available to discipline a fighting force.

In United States Army, Europe, we are constantly striving to erase this traditional, outdated view of discipline. It has always been my basic premise in dealing with people that almost everyone wants to do the best job he can.

Therefore, we have sought to achieve discipline through positive actions. By that I mean the type of actions that will generate the best sort of discipline there is -- self-discipline. The creation of discipline begins with concerned leadership -- the kind of leadership that perceives each soldier as a warm, live human being and not a faceless file. It is the kind of leadership that recognizes that each soldier possesses hopes, aspirations, and beliefs -- and also carries with him his own bag of problems. If the leader then gives each soldier a job he is trained to do and in which he feels productive; if he provides him decent living conditions -- both in physical plant and social environment; if he promotes racial harmony; if he controls alcohol and drug abuse and if he provides wholesome off-duty recreation, then the leader has created the conditions in which discipline will grow

naturally and in which unit pride will flourish. At the same time, the leader must be sufficiently stern to eliminate the malcontents and misfits who militate against the development of good discipline.

It has been our goal in Europe to create an ambience of understanding so that the majority of our soldiers want to do the best job they can. It seems to me to be the only rational approach to achieving a ready, disciplined force of high professional quality.

We are not alone in this problem of finding the best means available to motivate youth toward desired courses of action. In earlier times there were fairly reliable techniques for psychologically motivating American youth toward certain goals. It is questionable today whether these techniques are still effective -- or even valid. I contend that American leaders in all categories -- political, professional, commercial, military -- will face increasingly severe problems in motivating their constituencies in desired directions in the future.

Dr. Janowitz has stated, and I quote: A combat ready force fully sensitive to its heroic traditions and under closest operational control can be trained and maintained without brutality, personal degradation or mickey mouse discipline. Unquote. Gentlemen, I could not agree more. I see that as my mission. Its realization rests with concerned leadership, and resolution of the middle management difficulties of getting the indifferent, young, short tour lieutenant and the inadequately prepared NCO really involved with today's soldiers.

The normal approach to correcting such difficulties lies in the execution of professional training programs at all levels. Such programs are underway. Of greater concern and even greater importance is to change inflexible attitudes on the part of change-resistant supervisory personnel. This is where the character traits of young soldiers must be recognized.

There are many important youth traits that have existed, I suppose, since the creation of man. Idealism, liberalism, and individualism are characteristics which all officers and older NCO's should understand. It is the other traits of our soldiers -- produced in large part by demographic

changes -- which require greater understanding. I refer to the trauma often caused by urban living, mass education, mass communications media, and affluence.

New techniques of leadership and greater research are required. Commanders in Europe are instituting novel approaches specifically geared to our changing times. Some examples are enlisted men's councils, racial relations seminars, alcohol and drug abuse workshops, human relations councils, case study instruction of leadership techniques and dramatic productions on race and drugs -- traveling road shows.

In the area of research we have a group of seasoned battalion commanders developing attitude surveys with the technical help of Control Data Corporation. Many of the findings reached thus far are not startling. This is reassuring because it means most commanders are operating with the correct set of priorities.

Examples of some of our survey findings are:

Living Conditions -- The primary aim of the lower grade enlisted men living in barracks is to achieve privacy.

Entertainment -- Young soldiers express a preference for entertainment of a sedentary type.

Education -- Desires for learning are directed more toward practical skills than improved general education.

Services -- Courteous treatment ranked highest in need of improvement.

Personal Commitment -- Young white soldiers considered pride in one's beliefs as most important, whereas the young black soldier considered wanting to do well and the desire for self-improvement as more important personal goals. We have also used CINECOM of Cambridge, Massachusetts, to do attitudinal surveys to assist us in further understanding of the racial problem and soldier attitudes towards it.

There is much to be done in this field of research. The characteristics of youth who become our recruits and career soldiers are continuously changing. We must be careful not to generalize. Our youth are not an homogenous

group. According to Dr. Moskos, and I quote: The noted value characteristic of youth could be construed as a kind of set of values toward which many youth are moving, rather than a description of a totality in the immediate present. Unquote.

We could certainly use some help in these research areas. Perhaps a few graduate students who work for Dr. Janowitz or Dr. Moskos could spend a year with us? We couldn't pay them -- but if they are in a reserve unit, a call to active duty might be appropriate. I assure you that challenging positions can be arranged.

You have received numerous reports, from a variety of sources, concerning drug abuse in the military. Having dealt closely with the problem in both Vietnam and Europe, perhaps I can place this matter in better perspective. Although drug abuse is not a new phenomenon, the relatively recent sharp increase in the illicit use of drugs, particularly among young people, is a matter of grave concern. The problem is certainly not unique to the military. On the contrary, it appears that, for the most part, we are experiencing a condition which is relatively widespread in our society as well as in many societies throughout the Western world. Our studies, for example, indicate that approximately three-fourths of our soldiers who have been or are involved in drugs were first exposed before entry into military service. Nevertheless, we acknowledge a special responsibility to protect our soldiers from the dangers of drug abuse, and to help those who have a drug problem.

In approaching this goal, we have found that the most important factor in drug abuse is the abuser -- not the drug itself. In this regard, I believe that the basis of our drug abuse prevention and control efforts must be a humane and compassionate concern for each man as an individual. This, then, is the underlying philosophy of our drug control efforts in United States Army, Europe. We place primary reliance on education and find that two distinct target audiences we have must be reached. First, we have the officers and noncommissioned officers. These people require basic information concerning the characteristics and effects of drugs, the causes of drug abuse, and the development of effective drug control programs in their units. But, most importantly, we must convince our officers

and NCO's that the drug abuser is a person with a problem who needs help and is not simply a criminal who should be punished.

In the second category, we have our young soldiers -- that is, those who are most prone to becoming involved in the drug scene. For these young men we attempt to provide factual information concerning the physical, psychological, and moral implications of drug abuse, so that, at least, if a soldier is into drugs or thinking about getting in, he can make an informed decision about his conduct. In this regard, we have found that the standard approaches to training, such as lectures, briefings and brochures, simply are not effective. Credibility is a problem. The standard "establishment" approach to the topic simply turns off the young soldier.

As a consequence, we rely heavily on the use of peer group members who have special training or who have used drugs and are now motivated to help control drug abuse. These young men staff our drug counseling facilities; they participate in seminars and workshops, and give theatrical presentations on drug abuse. They act as advisors to their commanders concerning the drug problem in their units and, in some cases, serve on a full-time basis as members of small, mobile teams which provide education and counseling throughout the command. Our military physicians and chaplains also play an important role in drug abuse prevention. In many instances, they serve as members of drug information and education teams which provide education and counseling services for our troops. They are only effective, however, when they are suitably motivated and properly trained and, most importantly, can vibrate on the same frequency with the young soldier.

Although a solution to the drug problem is not yet in sight, we believe we have a much better understanding of the problem now than we did a year or two ago. We know that it is not overwhelming, and we are encouraged by recent data which suggests our efforts are meeting with some success. During the second half of calendar year 1971, the number of identified drug users was down. Prior to that, there was a steadily rising trend. While far from being an absolute determinant, this down-turn is encouraging. On the other hand there are disquieting indicators that the use of opiates, while very small on a percentage basis, is nevertheless increasing.

Having discussed concerned leadership and drug abuse, what about the most important of our socio-military problems? What about the racial climate in United States Army, Europe? Clearly the deep-seated problems associated with race relations are not subject to quick or easy solutions. But I believe that these problems can be tackled effectively by the Army -- and we are trying to do so.

Our Race Relations/Human Relations/Equal Opportunity Program has top priority among many essential efforts. We have sought the counsel of outstanding black leaders -- Robert Brown of the President's staff, Nathaniel Jones of the NAACP, and Harold Sims of the Urban League, for example.

In order to round out our thinking and obtain feed back from the grass roots level, soldiers and dependents are consulted. I've sought out and discussed this problem with a number of the so-called "black militant leaders" in the command. I'm convinced we are on the right track, but the train has only commenced to move and it is a long way to the end of the line.

As a social institution, the Army has certain advantages over the civilian sector to effect change. We have the tools to do the job. We have the command structure. Our decision makers are close to the action. We can set a shining example. Such statistical indicators as we can devise in this subjective area are promising. Organized confrontations of authority and between racial groups are becoming rare. Reported assaults by blacks against whites have decreased significantly. There has been a decline in the number and influence of black dissident organizations and racially oriented underground newspapers.

Participation by minority group soldiers and dependents in community activities has increased. Equal Opportunity staff officers have been appointed and are working full time at all levels of command from my headquarters down to brigade. Human Relations Councils operate at battalion level and in many of our companies. A Commanders Notebook on Equal Opportunity and Human Relations has been distributed which contains guidance for leaders at all levels. Fifth and Seventh Corps have traveling race relations road shows which depict examples of prejudice and dramatize the need for mutual cooperation

between all races. We have an excellent library of films on black history, social attitudes and other pertinent subjects. Another innovation is a program called Operation Awareness in which we bring to Europe successful black and other minority group leaders for rap sessions with our troops. We have had a series of meetings with officials of the German Government to solicit the cooperation and understanding of the German population regarding the race problem. Officials at all echelons have responded imaginatively and sympathetically. Chancellor Willy Brandt set the tone a year ago in a nationwide television appeal for tolerance and equal opportunity. Defense Minister Schmidt repeated that appeal last June and September and again last month. I have personally discussed the issue with the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Gustav Heinemann, and with Helmut Schmidt. Additionally, I have spoken to the Minister Presidents of all Laender, or German states, in which we have American troops. German officials are now taking the initiative in promoting interracial contacts. At our request, the German Press Council is recommending to its members that they not refer to the color of American soldiers in reporting incidents unless it is actually pertinent to the story. There has already been a 40 percent decline in such citations.

Housing referral offices have been set up throughout Germany to assist our soldiers in finding nondiscriminatory housing. We require, in fact, all persons seeking offpost accommodations to work through a housing referral office. Even in the face of a critical shortage of rental units, restrictive sanctions are applied when racial discrimination is evident. Likewise, business establishments and places of entertainment which are guilty of racial discrimination are placed off-limits to all our soldiers.

I have thus far dwelled on the positive accomplishments of our Equal Opportunity Program. I do not want to mislead you. We are far from our goal and much hard work lies ahead. Our black soldiers believe we are honestly trying, but they are waiting for positive actions at the lowest working level.

For most soldiers, the world begins and ends within his company, and his personal welfare is dependent directly on his company commander. At the moment, too many of our company commanders are bewildered and confused and lack real understanding of how to deal with their black soldiers.

They lack comprehensive background and training in contemporary social dynamics. There is too much ethnocentrism amongst NCO and officer leaders. The net result is a failure in quite a few units to enforce a single standard of fair and equitable treatment for all soldiers. The black soldier who has been heartened by policy pronouncements on high can be frustrated by the failure to act at his own level.

The ability or inability of our Nation to achieve an all-volunteer force will, in the final analysis, rest on public attitudes. Based on my observations of Army draftees and volunteers over these past thirty-odd years, I submit that national service is not repugnant to the majority of the young men of our country.

Yet, there are those who would say that the young men of today's Army are unequal to the task -- that they lack the motivation and discipline of military men of bygone days. They detect a decadence in today's young men. I will read an expression of that thought -- and I quote: I see no hope for the future of our people if they are to be dependent upon the frivolous youth of today, for certainly all youth are reckless beyond words and opinionated much beyond their years. When I was a boy we were taught to be discreet and respectful of our elders, but the present youth are exceeding wise and impatient of restraint. Unquote. That view was expressed by the Greek poet Hesiod and was written 900 years before the birth of Christ.

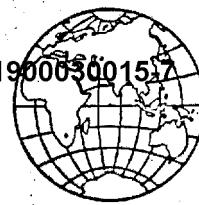
It has been my experience, based on lifelong contact with American fighting men, that no soldier has ever entered into a line unit of the Army better trained, better educated, better motivated when properly led, or more capable, than the young soldier of today. The challenge rests with us, the commanders, to give them the kind of leadership they deserve. I believe that our country still needs an army and, if this is so, it must be a good one.

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INTERNATIONAL WEEK®

## FROM THE CAPITALS OF THE WORLD

REYKJAVIK....BRUSSELS....TOKYO....BEIRUT....

» » Keep your weather eye on areas of the world that are rated "secondary" in Washington. These are the areas where Russia now is seeking quick profits.

Take Berlin. That is a primary area. A Soviet move on Berlin could bring confrontation with the U.S., even big war. So Russia is easing tensions there.

Take Bangla Desh--East Pakistan. Definitely a secondary area for the U.S. So Russia went all out there to back a winner--India. Our report of the gains Russia has just made in that area starts on page 14.

Look around at other secondary areas. There are plenty such in today's world--potentially dangerous, but rated in Washington well below Berlin, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, the Mideast as crisis areas. To take just one group...

» » Iceland, the Faroe and Shetland Islands, the Norwegian coast are not yet rated by Washington as primary areas of crisis. These points bound the Norwegian Sea, a body of water north of Britain and many times larger than the North Sea. Well, Russia is on the move there, and the U.S. is worrying.

In Iceland the Russians are urging the new coalition Government, which has two Communist members, to cancel that country's agreement with the U.S., thus closing the NATO air and naval antisubmarine base at Keflavik. Soviet Embassy in Reykjavik, Iceland's capital, is twice the size of the U.S. Embassy there.

To close the base would be to hurt the American and NATO watch on Soviet undersea activities. So far, little luck for the Russians. Leaders of Iceland's major party have said that U.S. and NATO forces should remain. But...

The Soviet submarine and surface fleet of a growing naval force based on Murmansk and Petsamo has moved through the Barents Sea and around Norway's North Cape in recent months. Soviet warships now appear to dominate the Norwegian Sea and are penetrating south, into the North Sea. Britain, Norway, Denmark, West Germany, Netherlands and Belgium all are concerned about that.

Norway particularly is alarmed. Its defense forces are no match for Soviet forces in the Far North. Norwegians recall that the Russians moved into Northern Norway at the end of World War II and were slow in leaving.

The U.S., at the NATO meeting in Brussels in December, was said to have urged West Germany to beef up its fleet with long-range destroyers that could help guard the North and Norwegian seas. There's no decision on that yet.

So, at this moment, Russia may be outflanking Northern Europe by sea.

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WORLDGRAM--(Continued)

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► ► Consider how many options Soviet leaders have as they look out from the Kremlin to see where they can safely move next to get more gains.

Gone are the days when Russia was landlocked, when the Czars sought to break out of their confinement into warm-water ports. Gone, too, are the days when Soviet policy was strictly defensive, when Kremlin leaders sought only to control territory bordering on the Soviet Union. Russia is out and moving.

Scandinavian peninsula and the Baltic are feeling the chill of the Soviet naval arm, stretching around Finland, Sweden and Norway into the Atlantic.

Scandinavia fears eventual isolation from the U.S. and from the rest of Europe.

West Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia and Turkey are feeling very much on the front line, up against Soviet land power, rated the mightiest of this age. Tito of Yugoslavia talks openly of Soviet efforts to break up his nation.

Spain, France, Italy and Greece are feeling threatened by Soviet naval power in the Mediterranean, thrusting west from Egypt. And in Asia...

Iran looks north to the Soviet Union, but also west to Baghdad, where Marshal Grechko, Soviet Defense Minister, was visiting Iraq, Iran's rival on the Persian Gulf. Iran could become a Soviet invasion route to the Mideast.

All nations bordering the Indian Ocean, even Australia, are feeling the rise of Soviet influence in that vast region after India's victory in Pakistan.

Southeast Asia is well aware that only a strong flow of arms from the Soviet Union kept North Vietnam going until the U.S. began leaving the area.

South Korea and Japan are rife with rumors that Russia may support North Korean military moves against South Korea as President Nixon visits Peking.

Modern Soviet strategy is by no means limited to the use of force or the threats of force. By supplying arms, often at a profit, Russia got client states such as Egypt, India, North Vietnam. By encouraging leftists, Russia got such faraway friends as Cuba and Chile. It's all paying off in power.

With so many options open to Soviet imperialists in the Kremlin today, it is hard to tell where Russia will move tomorrow. That is Washington's problem.

► ► What now in the Mideast? At this point that is anyone's guess.

Israel appears calm on the inside. Our report on that starts on page 23.

Egypt, too. Harvard's crew just won a boat race on the Nile at Luxor as thousands cheered. Oxford and Cambridge crews were next. Then Yale, eight seconds ahead of Egypt's entries. War seemed far away.

But Egyptians on the Nile banks, Israelis on Tel Aviv streets do not start wars. That's done by politicians and professional soldiers on both sides. And both keep saying that war is nearer, nearer...

Egypt's Army has been on alerts of various kinds ever since President Sadat said 1971 was Egypt's "year of decision" for war or peace. At year's end, that decision was declared to be for war. Still, more talking was not ruled out.

Israel's Army heard its leaders say that another round of war or more of the 17-month cease-fire was a 50-50 proposition.

Keep this in mind, too: U.S. wants no more Mideast war--ever. Russia wants no more Mideast war--ever.

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